

Message Text

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SUBJECT: FINANCIAL MAIL INTERVIEW WITH PRESIDENT-ELECT CARTER

REF: STATE 283762

1. FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF NOVEMBER 5 FINANCIAL MAIL INTERVIEW WITH PRESIDENT-ELECT CARTER: QUOTE. CARTER SPEAKS ON SOUTH AFRICA: IN AN EXCLUSIVE TALK WITH THE FM, EMBARGOED UNTIL AFTER THE ELECTION, PRESIDENT-ELECT JIMMY CARTER DISCUSSES HIS APPROACH TO SOUTHERN AFRICA.

2. FM: IT TOOK INTERVENTION IN ANGOLA BY A SOVIET-BACKED CUBAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCE TO RE-AWAKEN AMERICA'S INTEREST IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. UNDER YOUR PRESIDENCY, WILL AMERICAN INVOLVEMENT IN AFRICAN AFFAIRS LESSEN OR INCREASE?

3. CARTER: IF YOU MEAN, DO I CONTEMPLATE A PHYSICAL INVOLVEMENT IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, SUCH AS WE HAD IN VIETNAM, LET ME SAY I DON'T SEE IT. BUT I THINK YOU WILL SEE AN INCREASE IN OUR DIPLOMATIC COMMITMENT, IN OUR FOREIGN POLICY EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE A LASTING PEACE IN AFRICA, A PEACE BUILT ON MAJORITY RULE WITH THE PROTECTION OF MINORITY RIGHTS. RIGHT NOW WE ARE PLAYING CATCH-UP IN AFRICA AFTER 15 YEARS OR MORE OF NEGLECT. AND THE FORD ADMINISTRATION HAS ESSENTIALLY BEEN OPERATING ON AN AD HOC POLICY BASIS WITH THE SINGLE AIM OF KEEPING SOUTHERN AFRICA FROM BLOWING UP INTO A SHOOTING WAR. WHAT I ENVISAGE, WHAT I WILL WORK FOR, IS A MORE PERMANENT EFFORT, NOT JUST

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THROUGH ONE-MAN PEACE-KEEPING MISSIONS, BUT USING THE WHOLE

ARRAY OF AMERICA'S PEACE-KEEPING ARSENAL, ITS TECHNOLOGICAL ASSISTANCE, ITS HELP IN DEVELOPING SOUTHERN AFRICA'S RESOURCES. I DON'T SEE THIS AS JUST DO-GOOD CHARITY EITHER. THERE ARE RESOURCES WHICH ONLY AFRICA CAN SUPPLY US AND THERE IS TECHNOLOGY TO DEVELOP THOSE RESOURCES WHICH ONLY AMERICA CAN PROVIDE.

4. FM: POSITIVE PROGRAMMES FOR PEACE ASIDE, HOW SERIOUS A THREAT ARE THE CURRENT TENSIONS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA TO WOULD PEACE, COMPARED, SAY, TO THE VARIOUS CRISES IN THE MIDDLE EAST, IN ASIA, AND SO ON?

5. CARTER: FRANKLY, MY JUDGEMENT AT THE MOMENT IS THAT THE POTENTIAL FOR A SHOOTING WAR THAT COULD INVOLVE THE US AND THE SOVIET UNION ARE THE GREATEST IN THE MIDDLE EAST. THERE IS NO DOUBT ABOUT IT. I BELIEVE THAT WE ALSO FACE A SERIOUS CHALLENGE TO OUR OWN NATIONAL SECURITY IN THE INCREASED TENSIONS IN KOREA. HAVING SAID THAT, I DO NOT MEAN TO DIMINISH THE SERIOUSNESS OF THE PROBLEMS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA. AS LONG AS THE SOVIET UNION IS WILLING TO SPONSOR AGGRESSION AND UNREST THERE, THE THREAT TO THE US IS A SERIOUS ONE. ONE THING THAT I MUST ADD ON A POSITIVE NOTE IS THAT I THINK THE SOLUTIONS TO MANY OF THE CRITICAL TENSIONS IN SOUTHRN AFRICA ARE NOT AS HARD TO UNRAVEL AS THEY MIGHT BE ELSEWHERE. RHODESIA MUST MOVE TO MAJORITY RULE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. SOUTH AFRICA MUST MOVE JUST AS QUICKLY TOWARDS INDEPENDENCE FOR NAMIBIA. ONCE THOSE SOLUTIONS ARE ACHIEVED THEN WE CAN MOVE TO STABILIZE THE ANGOLAN SITUATION AND ACHIEVE A REMOVAL OF THE CUBAN TROOPS THERE. THE STEPS THAT NEED TO BE TAKEN ARE CLEARLY LAID OUT. IT WON'T BE AN EASY PATH TO FOLLOW, BUT IT CLEARLY IS THE ONLY ON THERE IS.

6. FM: GIVEN HOW DIFFICULT PEACE WILL BE TO ACHIEVE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, WHY DO YOU RULE OUT DIRECT MILITARY AID AS WELL AS DIRECT MILITARY INTERVENTION, AS LIKELY AMERICAN RESPONSES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA?

7. CARTER: I HAVE NOT RULED OUT ANY SUCH RESPONSES. I CAN'T DO THAT.

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IM FM: BUT THEY ARE UNLIKELY, ARE THEY NOT?

9. CARTER: I REALLY HOPE SO. FOR ONE THING, PAST AMERICAN POLICY, AND IT HAS BEEN WRONG I BELIEVE, HAS BEEN TO SEND ARMS AND TO SELL ARMS, OFTEN TO BOTH SIDES IN A STRUGGLE, AS AN ALTERNATIVE TO REALLY WORKING TOWARD PEACE.

10. FM: YOU HAVE SAID THAT TERE ARE MANY SIMILARITIES BETWEEN

THE AMERICAN POSITION IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND ITS POSITION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. YET THE US PROVIDES ARMS TO BOTH ARAB AND ISRAELI FORCES. ISN'T THERE A CONTRADICTION?

11. CARTER: THERE IS NO REASON TO REPEAT A MISTAKE IN THE MIDDLE EAST IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

12. FM: WITHOUT MILITARY AID, MUCH LESS MILITARY INTERVENTION, WHAT INFLUENCE CAN AMERICA HAVE IN THE REGION?

13. CARTER: AMERICA ALONE CANNOT HAVE MUCH INFLUENCE THROUGHOUT THE ENTIRE SOUTHERN AFRICAN REGION. WE MUST WORK IN CONCERT WITH OTHER RELEVANT POWERS, SUCH AS BRITAIN WHICH HAS REAL INFLUENCE IN RHODESIA, AND IN THOSE NATIONS SUCH AS ZAIRE AND SOUTH AFRICA WHERE WE HAVE SOME CLOUT OF OUR OWN.

14. FM: WHAT KIND OF INFLUENCE DO YOU THINK THE US HAS IN SOUTH AFRICA FOR EXAMPLE? HOW WOULD YOU QUANTIFY IT?

15. CARTER: VERY GREAT. OUR ECONOMIC PRESENCE IN SOUTH AFRICA GIVES US A GREATER INFLUENCE ON THAT GOVERNMENT THAN ITS GOVERNMENT HAS OVER RHODESIA, FOR EXAMPLE. I THINK OUR AMERICAN BUSINESSMAN CAN BE A CONSTRUCTIVE FORCE ACHIEVING RACIAL JUSTICE WITHIN SOUTH AFRICA. I THINK THE WEIGHT OF OUR INVESTMENTS THERE, THE VALUE THE SOUTH AFRICANS PLACE ON ACCESS TO AMERICAN CAPITAL AND TECHNOLOGY CAN BE USED AS A POSITIVE FORCE IN SETTLING REGIONAL PROBLEMS.

16. FM: AMONG THOSE POSITIVE FORCES, DO YOU COUNT THE THREAT OF ECONOMIC SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA?

17. CARTER: NOT REALLY. I THINK SUCH SANCTIONS COULD BE COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE.

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QIM FM: WOULD YOU FREE UP AMERICAN INVESTMENT THROUGH EXPORT-IMPORT BANK LOANS AND OTHERWISE ENCOURAGE AN INCREASE IN PRIVATE AMERICAN LENDING AND CORPORATE ACTIVITY IN SOUTH AFRICA?

19. CARTER: YES INDEED. OTHER INTERVIEWS HAVE QUOTED ME SAYING I INTEND TO FOLLOW "AN AGGRESSIVE POLICY FOR PEACE". THAT SOUNDS CONTRADICTIONARY ALTHOUGH ITS ACCURATE ENOUGH. IT MIGHT BE MORE ACCURATE TO SAY I INTEND TO FOLLOW A POSITIVE POLICY TOWARD PEACE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, INVESTMENT COMMITMENT AND THE USE OF ECONOMIC LEVERAGE AGAINST WHAT IS, AFTER ALL, A GOVERNMENT SYSTEM OF REPRESSION WITHIN SOUTH AFRICA, SEEMS TO ME THE ONLY WAY TO ACHIEVE RACIAL JUSTICE THERE.

20. FM: CAN YOU SAY WHETHER YOU WILL EXTEND DIPLOMATIC RE-

COGNITION TO THE TRANSKEI?

21. CARTER: NOT AT THIS TIME. I THINK WE WILL HAVE TO EXAMINE
TRANSKEI'S TRUE NATIONAL STATUS BEFORE WE MAKE SUCH A MOVE.

22. FM: BECAUSE YOUR CAMPAIGN DEPENDS SO HEAVILY ON THE
SUPPORT OF BLACK AMERICANS WILL YOUR PRESIDENCY AUTOMATICALLY
BE PRO BLACK?

23. CARTER: I DON'T KNOW HOW MUCH MORE COMMITTED I CAN BE TO
MAJORITY RULE IN AFRICA, WITH OR WITHOUT BLACK AMERICAN
SUPPORT. UNQUOTE.
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